# UNITY

*FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION*


Basic Plan for Economic Security
- - - - *Joseph Ernest McAfee*

Funeral Customs - - *May Stranathan*

Should We "Indoctrinate"? - *Curtis W. Reese*

How Peace May Be Won - - *Albert S. Keister*

Travel Letters-VI—In China
- - - - - *Alson H. Robinson*


## The Study Table


VOLUME CXVII NUMBER 6

Chicago, May 18, 1936

PRICE FIFTEEN CENTS

# UNITY

Established 1878

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

*Published Semi-Monthly Until Further Notice* — *Subscription $3.00 Single Copies 15 cents*

UNITY PUBLISHING CO., Abraham Lincoln Centre, 700 Oakwood Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

*"Entered as Second-Class Matter May 24, 1935, at the Post Office at Chicago, Illinois, under Act of March 3, 1879."*



JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, *Editor* — CURTIS W. REESE, *Managing Editor*

*Board of Directors*

MRS. S. O. LEVINSON, President
MRS. E. L. LOBDELL, Vice-President
MRS. IRWIN S. ROSENFELS, Treasurer
MRS. FRANCIS NEILSON
MRS. O. T. KNIGHT
MR. C. W. REESE
MISS MATILDA C. SCHAFF
MRS. E. E. SMITH
MR. FRANCIS NEILSON
ROBERT C. SCHALLER
CLARENCE R. SKINNER
SYDNEY STRONG
JABEZ T. SUNDERLAND
ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY
JAMES H. WEST

*Editorial Contributors*

W. WALDEMAR W. ARGOW
DOROTHY WALTON BINDER
RAYMOND B. BRAGG
EDMUND B. CHAFFEE
PERCY M. DAWSON
ALBERT C. DIEFFENBACH
JAMES A. FAIRLEY
ZONA GALE
A. EUSTACE HAYDON
JESSE H. HOLMES
LOUIS L. MANN
JOSEPH ERNEST MCAFEE
H. R. MUSSEY
M. C. OTTO
ALSON H. ROBINSON

*Poetry Editors*

LUCIA TRENT
RALPH CHEYNEY

*Foreign Representatives*

AUSTRALIA—CHARLES STRONG
AUSTRIA—STEFAN ZWEIG
BULGARIA—P. M. MATTHÉEFF
ENGLAND—HARRISON BROWN
FRED HANKINSON
REGINALD REYNOLDS
FRANCE—G. DEMARTIAL
ROMAIN ROLLAND
GERMANY—THEODOR HAHN
INDIA—RABINDRANATH TAGORE
JAPAN—NOBUICHIRO IMAOKA
PALESTINE—HANS KOHN
RUSSIA—ALINA HUEBSCH


## *Contents*


EDITORIAL—

Notes ..... 103
Jottings—J. H. H. ..... 106

ARTICLES—

Basic Plan for Economic Security—JOSEPH ERNEST MCAFEE ..... 106
Funeral Customs—MAY STRANATHAN ..... 108
Should We "Indoctrinate"?—CURTIS W. REESE ..... 110
Travel Letters-VI—In China—ALSON H. ROBINSON ..... 112
How Peace May Be Won—ALBERT S. KEISTER ..... 114

POETRY—

Preparedness—JEAN GRIGSBY PAXTON ..... 103
O Mothers of the Human Race—ROBERT WHITAKER ..... 111
The Old Beech Tree—FLORA WHITE ..... 111

THE STUDY TABLE—

Birth and Breeding Tomorrow—PERCY M. DAWSON ..... 115
Take the Cash—JOHN HAYNES HOLMES ..... 115
Book Notes—CURTIS W. REESE ..... 116

CORRESPONDENCE—

An Unanswerable Answer—ALICE STONE BLACKWELL ..... 116
The Case of Dame Pankhurst—REGINALD REYNOLDS ..... 117
Reply to Edith Wynner—JOSEPH C. BORDEN ..... 117
A Scientist in Russia ..... 117

THE FIELD—

Honoring the Heroes of Peace ..... 102
Proposal for Permanent Peace—*The Arbitrator* ..... 118
Churches in the United States—*N. C. J. C. News Service* ..... 119
War Resistance ..... 119
Why Congress Should Pass the Nye-Kvale Amendment—ROGER E. CHASE .. 119
Educating the Educators ..... 120


## The Field

*"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."*

### Honoring the Heroes of Peace

Services of Remembrance for Heroes of Social Construction constitute a mode of honoring the dead whose claims to honor have long been overlooked.

Miners, railroaders, builders, electricians, mechanics, firemen, policemen, explorers, physicians, nurses, mothers and others upon whose risks and sufferings life depends, form an army larger than any fighting force of which history has record. It is an army serving without intermission and knowing no armistice, an army that endures both pain and privation. It numbers its losses of life by the tens of thousands every year and its other casualties by the hundreds of thousands. It goes to its hard perilous battles without decorations and without honors; it does not wait for

"the roll of the stirring drum
And the trumpet that speaks of fame."

Yet it is the army of our real national defense, our defense against hunger, cold, sickness, exposure, disorder, exhaustion, extinction; ultimately perhaps our true defense against foreign foes. Enabling us to supply all the world with things of necessity, comfort and beauty, the army of social construction makes the rest of the world unwilling to be our foes.

The miner perishes in an explosion. The railroader dies in a collision. The builder is mangled to death falling from his scaffold. The fireman is crushed beneath the collapsing wall. The policeman is shot down defending the law. The physician and the nurse succumb to the disease which they are investigating or combating. No less does maternity exact much agony and precious life as the price of life.

Shall not we, who honor the army that slays, all the more honor the army that heals and preserves? We acclaim the heroism of the fighter. Shall we not acclaim the more beneficent heroism of the worker, the investigator, the mother?

To this end the Peace Heroes Memorial Society founded in 1926 has been continuing the annual Services of Remembrance for Heroes of Social Construction begun May 30, 1923. These services are held at Spring Grove Cemetery, Cincinnati, Ohio, on the morning of every Memorial Day. The graves decorated have been those of

(*Continued on Page* 118)

# UNITY

*"He Hath Made of One All Nations of Men"*

Volume CXVII MONDAY, MAY 18, 1936 No. 6

PREPAREDNESS

**One weapon I would keep**
**From the world's scrapheap**
**Of longbows and swords,**
**Of bayonets and guns—**

**One weapon for my soul's defense.**
**Leave me the sword of truth,**
**Swift and sharp and strong**
**To pierce the subtle lie**
**In militant word and song—**

**One weapon for this land's defense.**
**Throw all else on the scrapheap**
**Only one weapon let us keep.**

JEAN GRIGSBY PAXTON
from *Inward Word.*

## IDEALISTIC AND REALISTIC PACIFISM

Never were pacifists so tested as they are at the present moment. The test is not so much of their faith as of their intelligence. Pacifists must and will stand by the convictions which they consecrated during the ordeal of the World War. More than ever now, as another great war seems to be rushing down upon them, must they remain steadfast to their absolutist principles.

To doubt would be disloyalty,
To falter would be sin.

But, as time goes and conditions get ever more serious, we begin to see that pacifism as a philosophy and a program is a grimmer thing than we had ever quite imagined. It is not enough to deal with the sentiments of the human heart. These are true, divinely true, but what place have they in a world ruled by the law not of the kingdom but of the jungle? It is almost ridiculous to seek peace by the pursuit of measures which have imaginative appeal but no drastic effectiveness. Think of facing the black terror of the European situation by such proposals as a referendum on war, or a secretary of peace in the President's cabinet. Not by any such rose-water ideas as these is this war horror to be disinfected. What we see, or should see, more clearly every day, is the rootage of war in the political and economic system of our day. Just as the wars of the Middle Ages grew out of feudalism, so the wars of modern times grow out of imperialism. And as the world got rid of dynastic conflicts only by getting rid of feudalism, so the world will get rid of imperialistic conflicts only by getting rid of imperialism. It may be that the work will be done for us by the natural course of social evolution—modern industrialism seems to be crumbling, just as feudalism crumbled some five hundred years ago. But at bottom we must control the process—remake the structure of society to ends of peace and brotherhood. Our idealistic pacifism within, in other words, must be matched, implemented, by a realistic pacifism without. The effective pacifist is the radical social reformer!

## A MILITARIST FEARS WAR

If pacifists are not fully aware of the seriousness of the present international situation, they may well take lesson of a militarist—in this case, the redoubtable Winston Churchill, of England. This incomparable orator shook the House of Commons as by an earthquake the other day when he depicted the plight of Europe. "I cannot believe," said this advocate of huge armies and navies, "that after the armaments have reached towering heights, they will settle down and continue at a hideous level far above the present level, which is already crushing." Such a situation as now exists, he went on, cannot remain "a normal feature of the world's routine." There must come a supreme climax either one way or the other. "I believe," said Churchill,

"that climax will be reached in the lifetime of the present Parliament. Either there will be a melting of hearts and a joining of hands between the great nations which will release for us the glorious era of prosperity which is now within the grasp of the toiling millions or there will be an explosion and a catastrophe, the cost of which no imagination can measure and beyond which no human eye can see."

The kind of "climax" that Churchill anticipates is made perfectly clear by his concluding statement that he believes "a strongly armed Britain, resolutely and valiantly led and seeking nothing but peace, but ready to run risks for peace, may conceivably turn the dread scale between the blessing and the cursing of mankind." This statement, if honest, is the old illusion which has been besetting militarists since the beginning of time, that arms can bring peace; if dishonest, it is the mouldy

"bunk" with which statesmen have ever been deceiving peoples. Our own guess is that Winston Churchill thinks that war is coming and that Britain should be prepared. At least, that's the way his mind has been working for, lo, these many years. Pacifists cannot agree with him, but they may well share his realism as to what is going on in this unhappy world. Idealists, just because they are idealists perhaps, have an unconquerable optimism. This optimism steels their faith—but it may also deceive their judgment. That idealism is alone worth anything which faces all the facts, and at their worst as well as at their best!

## THE TIGER HAS TASTED BLOOD!

Mussolini is completing his conquest of Ethiopia. Now when he begins the "mopping up" business, the world may well take stock of the situation. At the start must come the confession that we were all of us wrong in our prognostications of what was going to happen in Africa. Il Duce has utterly confounded his critics. A campaign which military experts declared could not be completed in years, the Italian dictator has forced to a triumphant conclusion in one season between rains. An army which was everywhere expected to go to pieces in the midst of a hopeless terrain has carried through to its objective with superb fighting and engineering efficiency. An economic situation which it was said would crack under the strain of war-financing at home and sanctions abroad has held together without a sign of collapse. A people who it was prophesied would now have their chance to oppose their dictator have supported him with unfeigned enthusiasm. In addition to all this, Mussolini has successfully defied the League of Nations, laughed at the naval power of Great Britain, prevailed single-handed against the world. At the summit of his power, Il Duce, tasting blood and knowing glory, will now look for new worlds to conquer. "The end of mass fighting in Africa," says the Boston *Herald*, "is likely to mark the beginning of new Italian aggressions elsewhere." It is this fact which makes the European situation so dark—so doubly dark when it is realized that Hitler is only another Mussolini who is cherishing similar dreams of conquest, and, as in the Rhineland, daring mankind to block his path. It is undoubtedly true, as all competent observers seem to agree, that an immediate outbreak of war is extremely unlikely. Mussolini needs a breathing spell, and Hitler is not ready. But the silly idea that the Fascists and the Nazis are not a menace of literally immeasurable proportions must be dropped forthwith. The next war is brewing in Europe as surely as the lava of Etna is boiling for the next eruption.

## SENATOR NYE AND THE MERCHANTS OF DEATH

The report of Senator Nye's Munitions Investigation Committee is a veritable 16-inch gun document. We have never had anything like it before. For two years and more, this Committee, under Senator Nye's alert and devoted leadership, has been pressing its inquiry into this munitions business. It has ripped the cover off the hideous plotting and planning which have made this business as ghastly a travesty on civilization as history can show. It has disclosed the now indisputable facts that the munition manufacturers make incredible profits, that they seek contracts through shameful bribery and chicanery, that they foment war scares in the interest of trade, that they stir up armament competition among the nations, that they discourage peace and interfere with undertakings for peace, that they have even worked for war. That there can be any security in the world, any international accord, least of all any disarmament, while these commercial ogres are allowed to exist, is of course impossible. The ax must be laid at the root of the tree. No clipping or pruning will do any good. It is not the least of the services of the Nye Committee that a majority of its members have seen this fact, and have therefore recommended that the manufacture of munitions be straightway taken out of the hands of the present private owners and thus made a public business. It is intolerable, to our way of thinking, that there should be any such things at all as armaments and munitions in a Christian civilization. But if we must have them, then let the nations do their own manufacturing and thus eliminate completely the deadly incentive of profit. That the present Congress, under the influence of the present administration, will act upon the report of the Nye Committee is altogether improbable. The militarists are enthroned in Washington, and we must take the consequences. But the report stands, none the less—a challenge which must eventually be answered if the world is to be saved from destruction.

## INSTITUTIONALIZING UNEMPLOYMENT

This is the phrase by a contemporary economic and financial expert to describe what we are doing to handle a burden of unemployment which threatens to be permanent even in so-called prosperous times. Business is picking up, no doubt about that, but the burden of unemployment relief, as Harry Hopkins pointed out some weeks ago, remains as great as ever. We are carrying it by institutionalizing it as a continuing responsibility of the national life. Thus, we are moving swiftly to the policy of supporting the aged as old-age pensioners; we are putting our youth into CCC camps, or

providing for their further education; we are reclassifying great numbers of the unemployed as unemployable, and shifting them to pauper or institutional care; we are transferring more and more of the workers displaced by technological developments to "subsistence" communities; we are organizing as temporary expedients, sure to develop into permanent projects, public works to care for the industrial unemployed. Thus we are "catching up the slack" not by private re-employment, which we now see isn't coming, but by public management or planning—and all at a continuing expense to the national exchequer which we have not begun as yet to estimate. Here is the basis of a taxation burden, or of an inflation, which haunts the future like a nightmare. Is the existing capitalistic order going to function under a handicap of this sort, or is it going to carry us to final ruin—or is it going to be replaced in time by a new economic system constructively adapted to the exigencies of our age? Our own guess is that capitalism is digging in—consolidating its resources and adjusting its methods to the end of another so-called recovery. That this means anything more than a postponement of the inevitable debacle we cannot believe.

## MILITARY MEMORIALS

New York City has just decided to erect a memorial to the famous Father Duffy, Roman Catholic chaplain to a famous New York regiment in the World War. Father Duffy, be it said, was a noble priest, whose work among the poor of the East Side was worthy of a statue anywhere. But this projected and promised memorial is not designed to commemorate this man's service as a minister of God among his people. On the contrary, it is very specifically designed to celebrate his war record. To this end, the figure of Father Duffy on the pedestal is to be clad not in its priestly robes, but in its chaplain's uniform. He is to be shown clasping his Bible as he leads his soldiers on to battle. In other words, as much as the Farragut statue in Madison Square or the Sherman monument in Central Park, this Father Duffy monument is to be a military monument. It is to be one more celebration of arms, and worse than others since it prostitutes religion and the church to this wretched and dangerous business. At the very time when New York City was accepting the Duffy statue, the city of Reading, Pennsylvania, which has a Socialist administration, was doing a very different thing under like circumstances. On the occasion of a proposal of a memorial to a war general to be erected in a local park, the Reading City Council passed a resolution which said, among other things:

> The ideals of a people are reflected in the monuments which they erect. Thus they seek to make their heroes a perpetual source of inspiration for their children.
>
> In the erection of memorials, we believe that too much stress has been placed upon the glories of war, and much too little attention has been given to the horrors.
>
> We believe it more fitting to erect memorials to peace-time heroes, to commemorate achievements in art, literature and science. . . .
>
> The Socialist goal is to end the war system and establish the cooperative commonwealth. We want to inspire our children to be peace-minded and to devote their lives to this noble cause.
>
> Therefore, be it resolved that, owing to our strong conviction against war, we are compelled to refuse the request.

A good example should be followed. Let New York go and do likewise!

## IS PROTESTANTISM GOING DOWN HILL?

Disquieting statistics of church membership and church attendance have recently been announced by Roger W. Babson, himself an ardent churchman. In 1921, he says, the Protestants gained 1,710,000 new members by confession of faith, whereas last year (1935) they gained only 990,000. This is considerably less than one-half the former rate of increase, as the population in 1921 was smaller than in 1935. In 1934, figures showed that 49.07 per cent of the population belonged to churches, Catholic and Protestant, an amazing drop from former figures. Church attendance is much worse than church membership. Thus, a recent survey of 1,000 churches made by the Commission on Church Attendance of the Congregational and Christian churches, quoted by Mr. Babson, indicates that only 25 per cent of the registered members of churches were supporting these churches by attending their services. "Only 30 per cent of the seats in United States churches are being used." Attendance at Sunday schools has declined even faster than church attendance. Thus, between 1931 and 1935, Sunday school attendance fell off 8 per cent, while church attendance was falling off 1 per cent. The zenith of church attendance, according to the Babson investigations, was in 1880. Since this date, attendance has been steadily going down. An interesting item is that 80 per cent of church gifts come from persons over 50 years of age, which may mean that only older people are interested in religion, or that only these older people have money to spare for religion. An enormously significant fact is that 8 per cent of all persons listed as belonging to the churches *"were dead"*—a fact which impressively sustains the contention of UNITY for years past that statistics as gathered by the churches themselves are not worth the paper they are printed on. Mr. Babson thinks his figures indicate that the Protestant churches are "running down hill," that they "are suffering from inertia and lack of sufficient interest." We do not see how this rather moderate conclusion can be denied. Christianity, like civilization itself, is facing a crisis. Perhaps it is the same crisis—the same causes producing the same results.

# Jottings

When Finley Peter Dunn (dead on April 24th last) came to the gates of heaven, we know that the immortal Mr. Dooley, of Ar-r-r-chy Road, was there to meet and greet him. Not since Cervantes and Don Quixote, or at least Dickens and Mr. Pickwick, has there been such a pair as these two.

---

Hoover and Borah are agreed in opposition to Landon, yet they are themselves bitterly hostile. Is this a case of moral mathematics—men opposed to the same thing are opposed to each other?

---

President Roosevelt's political luck still remains incredible. Now Alfalfa Bill Murray, of Oklahoma, has come out against the New Deal and wants a Republican victory in the fall.

---

We build automobiles to run 100 miles an hour —and are surprised that automobiles are driven so fast! We allow children of fifteen and sixteen years of age to drive high-powered cars—and we are surprised that safety on our highways is menaced by reckless driving! We line our automobile roads with taverns and inns which sell every kind of intoxicating beverage—and we are surprised that there is so much drunken driving! What curious people we are!!

---

The outcome of the recent French parliamentary elections would seem to indicate that—leftward the course of empire takes its way!

---

The spectacle of Ethiopians looting their own capital, Addis Ababa, is anything but nice. As compared, however, with the wholesale brigandage of the Italians in looting the entire land of an unoffending neighbor, it looks almost civilized.

J. H. H.

---

# Basic Plan for Economic Security

JOSEPH ERNEST McAFEE

Some form of universal subsistence insurance can alone provide permanent solution of the economic problems which now beset American society. To outline such a plan is a large order. Also it is easy to confuse details with principles in such a statement. Yet, in the hope that the reader will avoid this peril, and will realize that faulty details may readily be corrected, leaving principles intact, I venture to try to meet this demand.

American society is now irrevocably committed to the proposition that nobody shall be permitted to starve. Relief doles and made jobs are a pitiful resort, by way of making this good. They tend to pauperize recipients and flagrantly waste the community's resources. They cannot be administered impartially and they rob the individual and the community of that priceless American asset, freedom and creative initiative.

Make, therefore, the insurance complete, universal and unequivocal. Put every citizen on a human basis. Guarantee a monthly subsistence allowance, to be paid without default from the date of birth to the date of death, in the case of every member of the population who may claim it and who may comply with the simple conditions of administering the plan.

Since we must be concrete, agree upon $50 per month as the required figure, to be altered as price levels and industrial development may prompt. Six hundred dollars a year will enable an individual to live in some decency. Two living together and co-operating can live in some comfort on $1,200. A family of five can live and lay at least the foundations of adequate education for the young, under our free public school system, on $3,000 a year.

Make payments in dated money, if necessary to insure immediate use and to prevent hoarding. Make all subsistence allowance money not expended within, say, three months from date of issue void and worthless. Operate the plan under government auspices but automatically and without possibility of partiality or graft. Reduce check-up system to the minimum required for orderly administration.

Not all citizens would claim this allowance, any more than all taxpayers send their children to the public schools. A number not possible to determine in advance of testing the plan would decline to conform to the simple check-up required, for the sake of adding six hundred dollars to their annual income. Excluding these from consideration, the total annual sum required for operating this plan may be roughly estimated at fifty billions.

The total national income in 1929 was eighty billions. The Brookings Institute, after a most exhaustive and conservative study, declares that the industrial plant of that date might have run at a twenty per cent advance over actual output. Technologists estimate that the national plant might with reasonable expansion produce an annual income of 150 billions.

The proposed basic draft of fifty billions upon the national resources of production would, therefore, leave a wide margin for luxuries and even speculation. Subsistence allowance money would not be secured by bond issues or other forms of borrowing, but the plan would be operated on a strict pay-as-you-go basis. This sum of fifty billions would simply be first charge upon industry, an item of overhead. Though handled under government auspices the levy would not be a tax in the commonly accepted sense of the term. It would not

be an addition to existing taxes; it would rather reduce the present tax load, by blanketing into the subsistence program large expenditures now carried by tax levies, as indicated below.

No radical alteration of our existing economic structure would be demanded. All worthy incentives to industry now prevailing would be preserved and would be greatly quickened. Animal hunger fear would be dissipated from the human community. The slave attitude in industry would be eradicated. With the disappearance of these gross and essentially debasing incentives to labor, the whole program of industry would be placed on a higher level, and incentives to creative activity would be enormously increased.

Nobody would work for bare livelihood; all would work from some more worthy motive designed to enrich life above and beyond mere animal existence. Those who might be content with the subsistence allowance, and cease all activity through indolence, would properly be committed to public health agencies for treatment. A lazy man is a sick man, defective physically or mentally, requiring medical or psychiatric service.

Those who might be content with the subsistence allowance, relaxing effort through ignorance, would be committed to the community's educational agencies; the plan would induce a highly desirable expansion of adult educational facilities.

Those who might be content with the subsistence allowance through absorption in research or the development of new arts and sciences, not remunerated under present social conventions, would eventually be recognized as public servants and would be honored for their self-sacrificing devotion to creative social advance. But in the meantime no scholar or artist would starve, as numbers of them have starved in the past.

This plan would forestall necessity for the rigid regimentation demanded by socialistic schemes. Many existing laws restricting freedom in industrial enterprise could be safely and properly repealed. The employer could seek and retain only such workers as his industry might require, without consideration of social consequences.

Labor Unions would go out of business, or be transformed into mutual benefit or cultural agencies. All workers would be on a human basis, and could safely bargain with employers as individuals, unhampered by the often drastic limitations of collective bargaining.

The grossly unjust or inefficient employer would be forced to the wall by healthy and high-minded competition. Conditions in any industrial enterprise which provoke excessive labor turn-over would prove fatal to its promoters, not to self-respecting workers who would be universally in a position to take the job or leave it, under no threat of starvation.

Work could be selected intelligently by those who could put their hearts into it; none would be driven to his task under the debasing animal fear of hunger, nor under the lash of a thinly disguised slavery. Liberty of each to do that for which he is best fitted and into which he could put his best self would be securely established throughout the industrial scheme.

Other far-reaching social effects are too many and varied to admit of cataloguing here. A few are the following:

Charity societies would go out of business, or be transformed into educational or other cultural agencies. Relief budgets would be blanketed under the subsistence allowance fund, and would disappear from tax levies. Public institutions for care of the dependent would lose a considerable portion of their population, for many near the border-line of physical and mental disability would be kept at home where they might be useful within their limitations. At present they are a total loss, an unrelieved burden upon the community.

Child welfare would be less institutionalized, and homes would be kept more fully intact. The universal provision for child subsistence would enable parents of all stations to give the child reasonable home care; at least poverty would no longer break up homes.

The home would be more firmly established as society's basic institution. The plan might be so administered as definitely to breed up the American stock, encouraging larger families among the physically and mentally capable strains, and discouraging the reproduction of the mentally and physically incompetent. The elimination of carking poverty has always had the effect of reducing excessive breeding, and of improving the quality of the human stock.

Upon the inauguration of this plan prices would tend to rise. This would undoubtedly be only temporary, since the enormous market especially for staple commodities, which greatly increased purchasing power in the population would develop, would speedily induce larger mass production with corresponding economies in producing and marketing goods.

Prices among luxury goods would perhaps find a new permanent level, since they would share in carrying the burden of the subsistence allowance levy, without commensurate increase in demand. But this result would not be socially unwholesome. Possible losses in luxury markets would be more than compensated by extensions in the staple commodity market.

Wage and salary scales would start with the basic subsistence allowance, and would advance from that point. This would be true not alone in industry, narrowly so defined, but throughout at least the lower and middle brackets of the entire economic structure. The subsistence allowance would be the first item reckoned in the setting of all wage and salary scales. Among high-salaried executives this might cut little figure, since six hundred dollars more or less would not mean much to these individuals, and, as already suggested, some of them would not trouble to claim their subsistence allowance.

When it is fully understood what this means, the propriety of differentiating this subsistence allowance from a tax levy will be recognized. This plan would not impose a new burden upon the taxpayer or upon organized industry; it would rather more adequately and justly organize industry, would more equitably distribute the common wealth, would insure a much wider base of purchasing power, and would provide a much larger and a far more stable market for all industrial products, especially for staple commodities.

In any case, industry has got to take care of the subsistence demands of the population in a civilized society. If the demand is not met in an orderly, efficient manner such as this plan proposes, it must be done by the present slipshod, hit-or-miss methods which involve nasty and irreconcilable conflicts between capital and labor, disgraceful political broils, and wasteful relief doles and made jobs. It would seem clear which course offers larger promise of economic security and rational social progress.

# Funeral Customs

MAY STRANATHAN

Mr. Fairley's recent review of *The Illusion of Immortality* by Corliss Lamont, and an article by M. Beatrice Blankenship in the *Atlantic Monthly,* entitled "Death Is a Stranger," brought back to me many thoughts of the changes in customs associated with sickness and death, some of which seem to indicate changed or changing convictions about the existence of personality after the body has passed into decay. Especially did the book review bring back the words of the late Earl Barnes, who in one of his lectures for the University Extension Society spoke of "a base desire for eternal life."

Mrs. Blankenship speaks of the changes in the way we now care for our sick and dying—giving over to the hospital and the nurse the services which used to be rendered by members of the family—as one probable reason why death is more of a stranger to us than formerly. These changes have been more striking in the cities and larger towns where many funerals are now held in the evening so that they will not interfere with business hours; but even in the small town in which I was reared the changes are also great.

Children are now guarded from the presence of death as they were not when I was a child and the resurrection of the body was believed in by many, and when even those who had given up this belief still clung to the thought that the soul at the moment of death entered into an eternal state of blessedness or of punishment. I well remember when a little schoolmate died that we children were taken early the next day to view the body before the funeral. For then the body was kept at home, instead of being sent to the undertakers for rejuvenation in appearance, and if we were to see it "before decay's effacing fingers" had "swept the lines where beauty lingers" we could not delay until the arrival of the relatives coming from a distance for the funeral. As we stood around the coffin, a neighbor woman told us how the little girl had looked up at her mother a few moments before she died and said she saw her father, who had died a few years before.

Children were not only told of deathbed scenes, but were brought in to see their relatives pass away. There is still living in a western state an old man, who, when recently urged to come back home at once if he wished to see his sister, a lifelong complainer, alive, replied, "O, there is no hurry. I can remember being dragged out of bed several times, when I was a little boy, to see Mary die."

The belief in personal immortality perhaps tended to keep our dead in our memory longer than now. To us children at least there was nothing strange in the viewpoint of the little Wordsworthian girl who persisted that "we are seven" and told how she would take her little porringer and eat her supper beside the graves of her brother and sister. There were then family graveyards on many of the neighboring farms of my community and the children were accustomed to play among the graves. And I still believe there is something to be said in favor of the custom, which Robert G. Ingersoll used to ridicule, of taking the children to the cemetery on Sunday afternoons. This custom has now sadly fallen into decay, but there remains with me the pleasant memory of such visits to "God's acre," pausing by a "neglected gravestone, for awhile to muse and ponder on a half-effaced inscription."

Recall to mind those other customs connected with the dead—the gathering of the neighbor women to bathe the body and prepare it for burial, the robing of the young wife in her bridal gown, or the grandmother in the garments she had made many years before and laid away against this time. There was the wake with its midnight lunch conducive to sociability and the telling of weird tales of deathbed scenes; there was the lone watch in the long hours between the midnight and the dawn, while your companion slept and you were the only waking thing about the house except those spirits that haunt the night and the places of the dead.

There was and is still, especially in this rural community, an ambition common to humanity—the ambition to "put away their dead nice." This all too often leads to a greater outlay than the circumstances of the bereaved family permit. I read lately of a Pennsylvania preacher who declared the funeral to be no place for display and reproved the insane desire of relatives and friends to enrich the florist on such occasions; to doll up the corpse out of all recognition and to follow the latest and most costly fashion in everything pertaining to the laying away of the dead. Somehow the present display seems more vulgar than that of the older day. It seemed a proper pride that used to be shown in the burial rites and the care of the graves of the departed. It was a primitive pride which had grown up with the achievements of toil and frugal living, and continued in the desire to put the best foot foremost even in death. Perhaps time has lent it a dignity it did not have before, a dignity of display so fittingly expressed in the closing lines of *Enoch Arden,* "the little port had seldom seen a costlier funeral." I remember an old farmer, a man of means and respected by all, when on his death bed, saying to his son, "As for my monument, I have named no sum in my will for the stone, but I would like it to be as good as any in the graveyard." And the son having satisfied him on this point, the old man turned his face to the wall and breathed his last in seeming content.

Years ago when woman suffrage was a live topic for discussion, an anti-suffragist made the charge that so great was the distaste of suffragists for home occupations that they would go any place, even to funerals, to avoid them. It seems the general attitude toward the funeral that it is the last place on earth to which any right-minded person should wish to go, except as a painful duty; and it is fast becoming a short and colorless ceremony, often conducted privately and without music or any reference to the character of the deceased. With much regret I see the passing of the funeral as a social function, as a means of grace, or perhaps even as a sacrament. I confess to a sneaking sym-

pathy with that elderly woman, known to every community, whose passion for attending funerals has caused her to be regarded as mildly insane.

True there are some features of the public funeral, as it used to be conducted, that are open to criticism. Among these was the custom of the relatives sitting beside the bier during the services and showing their grief before the assembled company. I recall one instance in which there seemed some rivalry between two of the mourners as to which should show the more sorrow, when even the voice of the preacher was drowned by the sobs of the bereaved. To a sensitive person who sits beside his dead with the curious eyes of the neighbors upon him, whatever comfort the sermon, the prayer or the song might contain is diminished by the feeling of embarrassment and even of outrage in thus being made a public show. Grief, like prayer, is a personal and private experience. Who, being over-persuaded that it is his duty to pray in public, ever asks for the thing he most desires? The eternal fitness of things demands that when we mourn, as well as when we pray, we enter into our closet and shut the door.

With the statement of the clerical critic that the funeral is not the place for evangelical work, I heartily agree, having once been present when a well-meaning and zealous minister labored under the conviction that it was his duty to make use of the untimely end of a ne'er-do-well to point a moral for others. By his frank reference to the ungodly life and unrepentant death of the departed, and his almost certain destination, this minister sent the widow and her two small daughters into hysterics and drew down upon his own head the criticism of the entire community. It is true that most of us unhappy sinners do not furnish happy topics for the preacher and when he eulogizes us unduly he also invites criticism, so perhaps the least said the better, so far as personal references are concerned. Yet undoubtedly it is this lack of sending us directly either to paradise or to hell that makes death less of a reality to us and the funeral a tame and uninteresting affair. Beside, there are so many other places to go now, even for residents of a small community.

Yet filled with what tranquil rest was the funeral in the old days in the old town! There was the kindly assembling of neighbors and friends without any of the noise and cheapness of the Fourth of July celebration or the Old Home Week stunts. There the object was not one of enjoyment alone—which is said to always defeat its own ends—and yet the occasion did not preclude the interchange of gossip as we lingered on the doorstep. Such a funeral was conducive of the feeling described by Longfellow as one of sadness and longing, but not akin to pain, and resembling sorrow only as the mist resembles the rain. It was the funeral to which everybody came for miles around, the women filling the rooms and leaving to the men the porches or the yard—the men, glad if the truth must be told, to take advantage of the remoteness of the preacher's voice to talk over a horse trade, the price of cattle, the prospect for crops or the never-failing subject of high taxes. There were the whispered confidences of the women before and after the services, as to which member of the family was really taking the death the hardest, though some of the others might make more fuss; whose black crepe veils the women folks were wearing; how this or that member of the family had been greeted or not greeted by those from whom he had been long estranged; or the real reason why another member of the family had found it impossible to get home for the funeral.

There are still other memories than these. The times when we have sat apart from the gossip and have been withdrawn from the common life of men to find rest and recreation for the soul as well as for the body. When we heard the voice of the preacher as one from afar off, telling of the hope of immortality and repeating those familiar words of mystery, "He that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live." And later when we listened to the mournful refrain, so comforting in its mournfulness, "Thou art gone to the grave and we will not deplore thee." At such times have tears and sobs seemed an outrage on the solemnity of death. We have turned aside for a little while from the things which were wont to distract us and have looked upon the passing show of the world as something in which we have no part nor portion any more than has the body before us from which the spirit has gone out. For a brief season we were awakened from our mad dreams of folly and the chasing after shadows. Our troubles and vexations have passed away and we have felt that truly it is better to go into the house of mourning than the house of feasting.

Then followed the procession to view the body of the dead, the body which "has lain like a solemn ornament in the house." Then the drive, or better, the walk to the cemetery by the short-cut over the fields; the loitering among the graves after the funeral cortege has gone; the resting in the quiet shade with the drone of insects in the grass making fitting music for our souls attuned to the dreamy sound. And, last, the saunter home in the gathering twilight and the sudden coming from the dusky land of dreams into the lamp-lit house, with the table set for supper, where all the little cares of life, which earlier in the day had disturbed us, become so dear, each having its place in the life of childhood, of busy maturity or of sage old age.

Though we read *Thanatopsis* in those days and now we read it no more, we still accept its philosophy as we did then even before the teaching of evolution was respectable and when we were taught to look forward to a heaven with streets of gold, rivers of living water and the Lamb sitting upon the Throne. In the presence of death it is natural to desire peace more than joy, or even more than the miracle of the resurrection. As we grow older life seems more strange than death and the changes we see in children as they grow up seem to separate us from them more than death could do. What we have lost we still have, but what we still have we lose. We are all changelings, and often children seem to us but the innocent forms assumed by mischievous spirits to gain our good graces and thus enable them to play their mournful pranks upon mankind. Nature does her work with such secret cunning that we are spared the shock of seeing it done, as we are not spared in the case of death. Who has not known a child of genius, one al-

together charming in its lack of self-consciousness, grow into a tiresome and commonplace adult? We cannot see the change any more than we can see the movement of the hour hand on the clock, but before we are aware it is accomplished. What parent does not come to realize that even as he watches his child go in and out before him every day, it has been whisked away by some enchantment from before his very eyes, and in its place is left a gawky and self-willed stranger? Too often a stranger in whom he can see no trace of his own attempt at the moulding of character, a person of outlandish manners and unmentionable ideals, learned the Lord knows where. He might for all the identification we can make of him, be the mysterious child of the nursery rhyme:

X is the name of a child never known,
He was born, and he lived, and he died all alone.

Francis Thompson says:

We reach back through the days,
A trothed hand to the dead, the last trump cannot raise.

Nature, the great magician, has carried away our dead and we know not where she has laid them. This is the wonder of life, and its sadness, that the soul passes and remembers no more its former existence, even while the body remains. We see our angels sunken into dullness and sordidness, as if changed by some such black magic as transformed the brothers of the Arabian Nights' tale into black dogs.

I am no longer shocked when I read in Emerson's essay on "Experience," the passage where he says that in the death of his son, more than two years before, he now seems to have lost a beautiful estate, and is not able to get his loss nearer to him. There is no rebellion at the words of Eugene Lee Hamilton:

The shores of Styx are lonely evermore,
And not one shadowy form upon the steep
Looms through the dusk, as far as eye can sweep,
To call the ferry over as of yore.
But tintless rushes all about the shore
Have hemmed the old boat in, where, locked in sleep,
Hoar-bearded Charon lies; where pale weeds creep
With tightening grasp all round the unused oar.
For in the world of life strange rumors run,
That now the soul departs not with the breath,
But that the body and the soul are one.
And in the loved one's mouth, now, after death,
The widow puts no obel, nor the sou,
To pay the ferry in the world beneath.

---

# Should We "Indoctrinate"?

CURTIS W. REESE

Education is the process of acquiring more knowledge, finer skills, and richer insights for use in life situations. The current statement to the effect that the old education was preparation for life while the new education *is* life should be discarded as a half-truth, no longer useful even for purposes of emphasis. Of course, we live while learning; and we may while living learn how to live more wisely.

Likewise with the motto "we learn to do by doing." Undoubtedly, some learning takes place by trial and error, but much of the time and energy thus wasted would be more wisely used in preparation for doing. In passing, it should be said that the correlation of study and work is at best a method of earning one's way through school, not a valid pedagogical procedure. Because one learns more readily by means of laboratory techniques and supervised projects, it does not follow that one should intersperse periods of study with periods of work, much less carry a job through school as a pedagogical aid. And especially objectionable is the apprenticeship theory of education, even when applied to industrial crafts.

Traditional "indoctrination" preserved and transmitted (a) socially inherited content, or (b) a body of teachings that was alleged to be of divine origin. This procedure was too often marked by the absence of critical and creative attitudes. It made for subservience to the dead hand of the past; and frequently fostered superstition. But the oft-repeated statement that the object of traditional education was to transmit the past unimpaired to the future is another clever play on words containing only a partial truth. Improving as well as preserving knowledge has always been a function of education.

Current "indoctrination" as a means of maintaining the political status quo, or for that matter the cultural status quo, is especially objectionable, since it frankly regards education as a tool of the state, and so reduces it to subserviency.

But because the content of the traditional and of the current political "indoctrination" is objectionable, it does not follow that "indoctrination" as such is objectionable.

The dominant idea in the Progressive-Education movement, as I understand it, is that the students should be introduced to the facts and encouraged to make their own appraisal of the facts without being influenced by the instructor. It is alleged that when this procedure is followed and the students are allowed to record their decisions, the results are mainly in accordance with approved judgments of enlightened opinion. The avowed object of Progressive-Education is to develop free persons, equipped with critical and quickened intelligence—worthy citizens of a democratic society.

Undoubtedly, the Progressive-Education idea and movement is a much needed antidote to traditional "indoctrination"; but it is a far cry from a useful antidote to a tissue-building vitamin. In the first place, it is quite impossible to remove bias from the instructor. Bias will emerge in his selection of facts, his arrangement of facts, his voice, his bodily posture, and his unconscious behavior. In the second place, the students have not been reared in a social vacuum, nor is their appraisal of facts made in a social vacuum. In the third place, even the point of view and the procedure technique of Progressive-Education constitute curricular content, and the effort to establish the habit of gathering and weighing facts is "indoctrination."

Progressive-Education, while counteracting the

traditional and the current narrow and arbitrary "indoctrination," is nevertheless itself a form of "indoctrination."

Educational methodology in general attempts to give the technique of teaching a status largely independent of curricular content. The idea seems to be that once the right method is acquired, the question of content is a secondary matter, although in fairness it must be added that in recent years teachers have been required to specialize not in general method but in methods appropriate to special subjects that they propose to teach. It is not my purpose to underrate method, but to insist that content should shape method and not be shaped by method.

Increasingly, educators are coming to believe in the possibility and desirability of producing and teaching curricular content that would meet objectively determined needs of personal and social life.

Cumulative knowledge in various fields has won all but universal acceptance on the part of those competent to have an opinion. Examples are: the validity of astronomically verified content, as compared with astrologically proclaimed content; of chemically verified content, rather than that proclaimed by alchemy. Likewise, the teachings of a "medicine man" have no status as compared with those of a modern school of medicine. It is needless to multiply illustrations of the validity of making distinctions in content to be taught. It may be more difficult to produce verifiable and effective curricular content in the personal and social realms than it is in those of the physical and biological sciences; but the positive achievements in these fields argue for similar achievements in other fields.

What I am contending for is that, since "indoctrination" is unavoidable, even if to avoid it were desirable, educators who want their teaching really to make a difference in the life of persons and of society should determine objectively what are the basic human needs and what in the light of present-day knowledge are effective means of meeting these needs; and, having so determined, proceed to "indoctrinate" accordingly.

The procedure for producing valid curricular content must be scientific, including objectivity, observation, experiment, verification, and tentativity. The scope must include all aspects of human life; and provision must be made for unique individual needs and for differences growing out of environmental situations.

Curricular content should aim to develop personality by increasing knowledge, skills and meanings designed to meet basic human needs. These needs may be grouped somewhat as follows:

(1) The needs of a biological being.
   a. Sustenance—food, air, light
   b. Shelter and clothing
   c. Health
   d. Sex

(2) The needs of a personality.
   a. Freedom
   b. Venturesomeness
   c. Creativity
   d. Aesthetic experience
   e. Sense of security

(3) The needs of a social being.
   a. The sense of response
   b. The sense of companionship
   c. The sense of cooperation
   d. The sense of love
   e. The sense of being at home in the universe

It is not too much to say that we now know that the basic human needs cannot be universally met in a competitive social order; and that we now know that the intelligent use of natural resources and scientific techniques could meet these needs—at least relatively so. It is my contention, therefore, that education should deliberately "indoctrinate" against a cut-throat competitive social order and in behalf of a cooperative social order.

The choice before modern-minded educators is, on the one hand, to succumb to the devastating influence of the state, or to the equally devastating influence of innocuous liberty; or, on the other hand, to "indoctrinate" in behalf of objectively determined needs and the verifiable means of meeting them. Realistic idealism would seem to indicate the wisdom of "indoctrination."

---

### O Mothers of the Human Race

[A Poem for Mother's Day]

O Mothers of the Human Race,
  Who, in the birthing of our breath,
The uttermost of suffering face,
  And touch the very hem of death,
Will you not mother all mankind
Into one all-maternal mind?

O Mothers of the Human Race,
  Whose milk is universal bread,
As all-sustaining as the grace
  Of the heart's universal red,
Will you not feed us with the food
Of love for all the human brood?

O Mothers of the Human Race,
  Protectors of our infant years,
Who wooed us to our first embrace,
  And taught us laughter out of tears,
Teach us the gesture and the glee
Of the world-love that is to be.

ROBERT WHITAKER.

### The Old Beech Tree

Rugged, erect and woefully stark,
  Gnomes peering out from his bulging bark,
Striding the rock he is rending apart,
  Shivered and splintered by lightning dart,
Stands the old beech tree that has captured my heart.
Mottled of trunk and shattered of limb,
  Two boughs forming a cross-beam grim,
Braced 'gainst the west-wind's hurricane blast,
  Facing to eastward through centuries past,
What will he do with life at the last?
  When over Pocumtuck the moon rolls red,
When white mists trace the Connecticut's bed,
  When circling the upland the plover's wild cry
Turns into tone both bird and sky,
  What will he do if death draws nigh?
Moon and mist and soaring bird
  Straightway give the answering word—
"Barren, leafless, cruciate tree
  Is the breath of Calvary;
Stands alone—and gallantly faces life's last mystery."

FLORA WHITE.

# Travel Letters-VI—In China

ALSON H. ROBINSON

If there were any choice in the matter I suppose a person would hardly select Shanghai as the setting for a hospital experience. That there was no choice so far as I was concerned may be judged from a telephone conversation between the doctor and my wife of which I caught the following snatches: "Infection common in the Orient . . . might be serious . . . special treatment required . . . Country Hospital in thirty minutes."

Truth is that at that particular point it didn't matter much to me what happened. Of one thing I was reasonably certain. They wouldn't bury me in China for the simple reason that there wasn't any room. As we had moved about the country one of the strangest and most characteristic sights was the enormous number of grave mounds everywhere. As you travel from Shanghai to Hangchow, for instance, you pass mile after mile of these burial mounds. They are family cemeteries. In many cases they have been placed on very fertile land where rice ought to be growing. In fact a movement has been initiated in Nanking for the concentration of these mounds, leaving the land free for the requirements of the living. It will be a slow process. The dead hand of the past rests heavily upon China and hardly more so than at this very point so intimately related to ancestor worship. I thought of all this and a lot more on the way to the hospital. I comforted myself with the satisfaction that at least I should somehow get back to the family lot in Lynn, Massachusetts.

Now that it's all over, the "serious consequences" a matter of lively imagnation, and we are happily on our way it may even be suggested that such an experience affords certain touches of local color which have received scant attention in the guide books. The Country Hospital in Shanghai is really quite a magnificent institution. It was built some twenty-five years ago by a German who in common with a good many others out here made his fortune in the opium traffic. It seems that after erecting this hospital this eccentric Teuton left Shanghai never to return. The buildings and spacious grounds came into possession of the Shanghai Municipal Council which now runs it at heavy expense to the taxpayers of the city. The patients are all foreigners, although the day of my discharge was marked by the admission of Mr. Wellington Koo, Chinese Minister to France. For several weeks the poor man had been knocked and kicked about from one public function to another with the result that the social pace of his own country was too much for him. The nurses are all English. They are under contract for three years, and, although their duties are light compared with those of American nurses, they take the first steamer home when their time is up. Chinese nurses serve as assistants and have received regular hospital training, but for some reason they do not appear capable of adapting themselves to the sick-room idiosyncrasies of foreigners.

At this point it is comparatively simple for me to accept this experience with a sort of Oriental resignation which certainly has a lot of value and which, I should add, I have been glad to see rather frequently in operation among the Chinese. But at that time I was boiling mad. Here we were in the midst of a carefully arranged itinerary, with steamship passage and all the rest engaged many weeks in advance. Here was the chance of a lifetime to visit scenes and places of rare interest and meet persons of distinction. Suddenly I had taken it upon myself to disorganize this entire program and throw nearly three weeks of precious time into the discard. It was not that bad, however. Preeminently let me suggest that if any of my friends find themselves in a similar dilemma in Shanghai they will find a good physician to their spirits as well as to their bodies in Dr. Dana Nance, whose office is in the Robert Dollar Building. Dr. Nance is one of three brothers, all of whom are practicing physicians in Shanghai. Their father has for many years been president of Soochow University, and is recognized as one of the outstanding foreign educators in China. Dr. Dana Nance is a confirmed and persistent pacifist and internationalist. He has seen so much fighting in China, which has got the fighters precisely nowhere, that his firm resolution is never to take part in any war in which either his own or any other country may be involved. His younger brother goes even further. During the Japanese invasion of Shanghai in 1931 an American Medical Unit was formed. Dr. Nance was willing to go to the hospital to patch up the torn fragments of Chinese bodies, but he refused to put on the uniform of the American Army.

Now that I have a chance to think it over in the light of this Oriential reflectiveness, I realize that that hospital experience was far from a total loss. Among other things, it gave a chance to assimilate a lot of impressions so strange and unintelligible to a Westerner as he is plunged for the first time into this ancient and teeming world. Perhaps it may be of interest if I recall quite at random some of the impressions and memories which come irresistibly to the surface.

Just now I have spoken of this teeming world of the East. That means, so far as the eighteen provinces of China are concerned, a population of 350,000,000 persons, crowded into an area less than one-half the size of the United States. That explains why every city you visit is a big city—Shanghai, Peking and Canton run up close to a million and a half each. Tientsin, Hong Kong and Nanking just fall short of the million mark. Now such figures are not especially impressive to an American. What is impressive about these Chinese cities is that they are big without looking that way. Hong Kong, with its beautiful harbor and towering buildings, is smallest of all—but actually Hong Kong is a British Colony and bears no relation to the Chinese government.

But if a person starts out alone in the native section of Shanghai or Canton he very quickly develops a healthy respect for the size of these cities. In Canton there are more than half a million people

who spend their lives in little sampans moored along the canal and river bank. The Bund of Canton crawls along for miles upon miles, and as far as the eye can see these boats are jammed together along the shore. Utterly devoid of furniture or any modern conveniences—covered only with a fragile bamboo canopy—this river population ekes out a precarious existence by a sort of water jitney service. But how these millions keep body and soul together is more than a Chinese puzzle to me. And yet, strange to say, they look as if they had enough to eat. The children are actually fat and cheerful. I suspect the great famines of China do their worst in the interior, while these crowded millions of the cities have become immune to the disease which would make normal people—that is Westerners—die like flies. I expected to see crowds everywhere in China, and here they are.

An interesting contrast to this is the small number of foreigners who are actual residents in these cities—including missionaries and public officials, not over two hundred each in Peking and Shanghai. And I am told that between Suez on the West and Yokohama on the East, two hundred thousand would account for the total permanent white population of the Orient. It seems incredible that the number is so small, but it is impressive in terms of what a small number of persons can do under strange and alien conditions. It also accounts to some extent for Western ignorance of the East. There are a lot of Chinese in China.

The more I saw of these people in their superstition, illiteracy and filth, with increasing measure was the colossal magnitude of China's problem driven home to me. The characterization of China as "the sick man of the East" is wholly justified. Pick up any newspaper in China and there are two topics which will run through page after page. First, the Japanese penetration of North China. They do not always refer to it in those particular words. Many of the newspapers in the North are already under Japanese control, and those that are not are in constant danger of suppression. Editors have been known to disappear. The director of public education in Tientsin was absent for a long time from his post—nobody knew where. Public officials are subject to immediate removal. Everywhere one sees unmistakable evidence of Japanese authority.

An enormous section of Shanghai was destroyed by Japanese forces in 1931. The shattered walls of houses and public buildings stand as mute testimony of the tragedy. And Japanese troops patrol the streets. This display of foreign military power is justified on the ground that, since in that struggle Japanese soldiers were killed, therefore, it is sacred soil to the Japanese and must be guarded. In Shanghai the Japanese have erected a temple as a memorial to those who fell in the attack upon the city. It doesn't quite make sense, but you have to let it pass. In fact that's exactly what the Chinese have been doing now for several years. The reason they let it pass is that there doesn't seem to be anything they can do about it, and the reason they can't do anything is that the Japanese are well organized, equipped, and united, while they are not.

The second topic which engages public attention so far as the newspapers are concerned is this very condition of Chinese impotence. For instance, on the 17th of February Dr. Lin Boon-Keng, President of the University of Amoy, insisted that the nation is suffering from a form of neurasthenia. Among the symptoms of this disease are mentioned the following: Paralysis of the national spirit; inefficient government; prevalence of greed and selfishness among officials in power; neglect of education; economic collapse resulting in poverty of the masses; and, finally, weak diplomatic policy because the government knows its own feebleness, and realizes the inadequacy of the means of defense at its disposal.

Even with our limited opportunities for observation, we as foreigners felt the accuracy of this diagnosis and, further, that any nation with all these and many other ills must be in a very critical condition.

A short way back I mentioned the opium traffic. It has to be mentioned since it has been a sorry story for many years, and doesn't seem to be any brighter. We were driving one evening through the Japanese concession of Tientsin with Mr. and Mrs. Arthur G. Robinson, whose long residence in that city has made them among the most influential and best loved foreigners in China. Suddenly we stopped in front of a shop where tiny glass lamps were displayed in the windows. They were opium lamps, and the opium to go with them was openly for sale. The Chinese authorities even if they would can do nothing about it, since the Chinese police have no authority in this section of the city.

An American army officer observed to me that the dope should be classed along with the Japanese army as a definite branch of the conquering and pacifying system. Opium and heroin perform two important functions: they are cash products which bring quick returns and high profits; and their widespread use among the natives has a deadening effect thus facilitating pacification of the people both preceding and following military conquest. The great bulk of opium consumed in China today comes from Manchukuo. To be sure, it is reliably reported that one of the highest officials on the Kuomintang government in Nanking is the owner of a large opium factory just outside Shanghai, while Hsiao Cheng Ying, mayor of Tientsin, recently told a group of Chinese newspaper men that he didn't intend to permit the foreign concessions in his city to enjoy a monopoly of vice. So that's that, and that's merely one of the many sidelights on forces which are undermining the life of the Chinese people.

Before these random reflections reach too ungovernable dimensions, a word must be said about missionaries. I came to China with an open mind so far as they were concerned. Now my mind is closed; and it is closed in favor of the missionaries. That doesn't mean that every missionary is a paragon of all virtue whose intelligence and broadmindedness are such as to warrant entrusting the destinies of the Chinese republic in his hands. Mr. Reginald Bragonier, our splendidly equipped, and personally winning, vice consul in Canton tells

about the wives of two missionaries in a small city in the interior. These women are members of the only two white families in the city, and had lived there for fifteen years; but because one was a Baptist and the other an Adventist they had never met. Mr. Bragonier brought them together.

Of course nobody holds any brief for that sort of thing. But my closed mind in favor of the missionary springs from the accumulation of some such experience as the following: We had decided to spend one day in Peking visiting Buddhist temples —not those vacated by the Imperial family, but those devoted to the functions of present day worship. They were all alike—littered up with an unconscionable display of images, the priests mumbling through an ancient ritual which neither they nor any other participants could understand or explain; neither temple nor priest taking the slightest part in the lives of the people.

Towards the close of the day we went to the splendid compound in which is located the school of the American Board under the direction of the Reverend Earl Ballou. Here are schools for Chinese boys and girls, beginning with kindergarten and carrying through to the completion of our high school grades. Here are classes in the three R's with special emphasis upon teaching these children to read and write their own language. Here are classes in hygiene, domestic science, manual training for the boys, gymnasium and all the rest. That's the sort of thing that we have seen in city after city. The particular brand of Christianity with which these children in varying degrees of surreptitiousness have been indoctrinated may stick and then again it may not. But a whole lot is going to stick that neither the Buddhist temples nor the public schools can give, which will assist that generation in becoming better Chinese and better citizens of the world.

It's a long story, and subject to modification, but I'm all for the missionaries. Among other things they were the second best informed group of people we have met in the Orient. The newspapermen come first in this category. They always do. They have ways of knowing and of finding out which are positively uncanny. But we got more from the missionaries for the reason that there are so many more of them.

We stayed in China considerably longer than we had planned, and the longer we stayed the more bewildered we became. But I have an idea that after the odors of the Country Hospital have all blown away and the bewilderment has been transformed by a better perspective, we shall be everlastingly grateful to many friends we are leaving behind in China, and shall understand better their heroic struggle not only to cast off a foreign foe, but to restore in some measure the fragments of a great civilization.

Well, here it is just as we are leaving China: "Political Assassination in Tokio." "Civil War in Japan." I'm not surprised. Little as we knew, the air seemed heavy with a sort of impending doom all the time we were in Japan. What will it mean for the future of China and Russia and the world?

And so three very greatly confused and considerably chastened Americans sail out from a Chinese port on *The Empress of Japan,* flying a British Flag. I wonder if the Pirates will get us. The reports of their operations are no mere devices designed to tickle the palates of the adventurous. Our boat from Hong Kong to Macao the other day was well guarded against exactly that sort of eventuality. We've had quite enough without them, thank you.

*Later, Manila, P. I.,* The Pirates didn't, but the China Sea was most unkind.

---

# How Peace May Be Won

ALBERT S. KEISTER

Wars in last analysis are not made by armies and navies, although they may do the actual killing.

Wars in last analysis are not made by bankers and munition manufacturers, though they may profit thereby.

Wars in last analysis are not made by diplomats and other government negotiators, though their moves may bring the country to the brink of war.

*Wars in last analysis are made in the minds of the masses of men.*

Do you swallow propaganda readily, believing almost anything you read or hear, especially about foreigners? If so, you are the stuff out of which war is made.

Do you take sides quickly, jumping to the belief that one side is right and the other wrong without waiting for all the facts before forming a judgment? If so, you are the stuff out of which war is made.

Do you think America has always been right? That patriotism means supporting the government regardless? That our country can do no wrong? If so, you are the stuff out of which war is made.

Do you believe that wealthy owners of industry should run their businesses without giving labor any voice whatever? If so, you are the stuff out of which war is made, for war may be civil war as well as international war.

Do you believe in white supremacy? That the white race should rule because it is superior to the brown and black races? If so, you are the stuff out of which war is made.

Winning peace is going to be harder than winning a war, for war is in line with our emotions and impulses. It is easier to accept propaganda than to examine and use critical judgment. It is easier to take sides than to remain neutral until the facts are in. It is easier to support America right or wrong than to question and discriminate. It is easier to fall in with the rich and powerful than to stand for the common man. It is easier to believe in white supremacy than to concede the right of the brown and black races to free development.

Winning peace is neither natural nor easy. It may take centuries. The price is too stern for most people to pay. May we come to the grim realization that to really win peace requires more than banners, voting resolutions, and polite applause. *It means a new mind in the masses of mankind.*

# The Study Table

## Birth and Breeding Tomorrow

OUT OF THE NIGHT. *By H. J. Müller. New York: Vanguard Press. $2.00.*

The author of this book is an American geneticist, at present occupying an important position in a research institute in the Soviet Union. Essentially his thesis is that genetics can and should contribute to a vigorous, practical eugenics of the positive sort.

Such a book is a welcome addition at the present time to the intellectual equipment of both countries. For, on the one hand, in America the claims of eugenics have been sponsored largely by those who would have to bear the expenses of improving man's economic environment and who therefore find quite naturally in the cult of eugenics a scientific excuse for their laissez faire attitude towards "conditions." Such sponsors have involuntarily created in many socially minded persons a suspicion of all eugenic programs. On the other hand, the citizens of the Soviet Union have had their hands so full of environmental improvements, that the matter of eugenics has been set aside to await perhaps more expert direction in this important matter. Professor Müller fully appreciates the astounding character of these improvements, and sees the need for equivalent changes in other countries. But he goes on from this to show that the day will soon come when there will be no reason for limiting our efforts to euthenics alone.

The first chapter, entitled "How Has Man Been Made?" deals with the role and significance of the genes in biology and evolution. In "Evolution a Revolutionary Doctrine" it is pointed out that the discovery of this evolutionary process has been falsely used as an argument for individualism and for justifying the struggle for existence in human affairs, whereas in reality continuation of the progress of humanity depends on the developing of higher forms of cooperation. "The Next Necessary Step" is the radical change in the economic and political basis of society to which the class struggle is bringing us, and which the author regards as indispensable for both social and biological evolution. "We and the World in Contest" presents a view of the great achievements in the realm of physical technique and the conquest of outer nature, which may be hoped for in a more truly co-operative society. The author then turns again to "The Inner World," by which is not meant the world of subjectivity but the world inside the body, the world of human peculiarities, disabilities, ailments and their relation to inheritance. In "Heredity and Character," both intellectual and emotional elements are discussed. In the last chapter, "Birth and Rebirth," the limits of euthenics and negative eugenics are reiterated and a practical program presented.

We have all heard those light-minded persons, who would discredit and ridicule positive eugenics with ludicrous references to the human stud horse. But Müller's proposal is neither comic nor spectacular. The love-lives of men and women are to go on as usual but there are occasions when it might be desirable for woman to be inseminated from some source known to be genetically superior. If so it would be well. But it would be still better if by and by it became the *custom* for a woman to marry the man whom she considers emotionally and socially desirable and then, by artificial insemination, to bear children to persons who are genetically superior.

There is in this suggestion nothing unreasonable or impractical either technically or socially. We have all seen adopted children who are as dear to their "parents" as natural children, and the child of artificial insemination is in some degree the natural child of at least one of those who have pledged themselves to undertake its nurture.

This general thesis the author presents in a most convincing way and supports with abundance of scientific material which is in itself interesting; in addition, his brief excursions into adjacent fields of thought enhance the attractiveness of this little volume.

PERCY M. DAWSON.

## Take the Cash

PATRIOTISM PREPAID. *By Lewis J. Gorin, Jr. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. $1.00.*

The organization of the now famous "Veterans of Future Wars," in the interest of a prepaid bonus, stirred intense but mixed emotions. On the one hand came an outburst of appreciative hilarity which is still convulsing the nation. No such gorgeous satire of war and veterans and profitable patriotism had ever before been seen. Here was the whole vicious business of militarism laughed out of court. Here, more especially, was the "bonus" exposed in all its naked shame, to the ribald jesting of the world. This was magnificent and useful fooling, and we rejoiced.

But there was another emotional reaction on this movement among the irreverent youth of the nation. This was anger—anger of indescribable intensity—anger that shook the welkin with inarticulate screams because no words could be found or made adequate to express the inner wrath. War was being laughed at, soldiers were being held up to ridicule, patriotism was being exposed as the first rather than the last refuge of a scoundrel! This was unendurable. And, behold, as though at an appointed signal, all the veterans of the World War, and all their innumerable "sisters and their cousins and their aunts," to say nothing of their wives and mothers and sweethearts, and even their fathers and fathers-in-law and foster fathers, broke into one vast uncontrollable outburst of fierce fury. As hilarity swept the nation like a tornado, it was met by anger sweeping the nation like a typhoon. In the mingling of these two storms came cosmic convulsions of diaphragmatic hysteria. If ever an idea, a movement, was a success, it was this Princetonian-inspired "Veterans of Future Wars."

In this little book, the national commander of the prospective "Veterans" explains and justifies his cause. His exposition of the idea is as gorgeous a piece of satire as the original idea itself. This man Gorin is a brilliant fellow! If the World War veterans, the vast conscripted "bought and paid for" host of the Legionnaires, have any untapped sources of wrath still left, they will verily and veritably explode as they read these pages. The way Mr. Gorin takes the hide off these mercenary patrioteers surpasses description. Once get this book read throughout the land, and no veteran will dare to wear his disgraced uniform or his silly trench helmet in public, lest he be laughed out, or, more serious, be set upon by angry mobs as "public enemy No. 1."

For the "Veterans of Future Wars" movement has

its more serious side, be sure of that! After we have got through laughing, if we ever do, we will straightway come to see that Mr. Gorin and his inspired associates have undertaken a job of high public service. They are proposing to expose and if possible to end this business of using patriotism as a cloak for highway robbery. They are aiming straight and sure at the whole damnable idea of veterans' organizations established to exploit the government for disreputable private and personal ends. They are attacking war as a racket. At first, when we heard of these "Veterans of Future Wars," we thought that the boys were having a grand time. Their jest was good—and we laughed. Now we see that the jest is grim, that the boys are in deadly earnest, that the new generation is proposing not to be "lost" if they can help it—and we become sober again. This is a fight for peace that promises victory.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

### Book Notes

SOCIAL WORK YEAR BOOK, 1935. *Fred S. Hall, Editor. 698 pp. New York: Russell Sage Foundation. $4.00.*

Volume III of the *Social Work Year Book* maintains and extends the high standards of Volumes I and II. In addition to comprehensive statements of the history, purpose, and progress of major movements in the various fields of social work, there is a full list of the chief agencies, both public and private, that are operating in the field. Unfortunately one major division of social work is neither accurately nor comprehensively set forth, that of group work. The Editor, however, cannot be blamed for this, since group work agencies themselves are still in the throes of trying to define their objectives and develop their techniques. The *Year Book* is a ready reference for the general public, and it should be a "required possession" for professional social workers. There is an excellent index.

◈ ◈ ◈

A NEW STANDARD BIBLE DICTIONARY. *Edited by Melancthon W. Jacobus, Elbert C. Lane, Andrew C. Zenos, and E. J. Cook. 965 pp. New York and London: Funk and Wagnalls Company. $7.50.*

This Third Edition of the *Standard Bible Dictionary* makes good use of information secured by wide study and exploration by authoritative scholars since the Second Edition of ten years ago. The volume is as free from bias as could be expected from frankly evangelical editors. Scientific yet relatively popular, the Third Edition will be of great aid to lovers of the Bible who want to keep abreast of modern biblical scholarship.

◈ ◈ ◈

THE RATIONALIST ANNUAL 1936, *Edited by Charles A. Watts. London: The Rationalist Press Association, Limited. 94 pp. One shilling net.*

The current issue of *The Rationalist Annual* is a compilation of articles by such well known men as H. J. Laski, Sir Arthur Keith, J. B. S. Haldane, C. E. M. Joad, J. H. Breasted, and others. The subject matter covers a wide area—from Breasted's excellent treatment of "History and Social Idealism" to Haldane's "Defense of Materialism." Sir Arthur Keith's recording of a conversation with a "Man of Letters" regarding the long standing controversy over the relative merits of the differences and friction between Charles Darwin and Samuel Butler is fascinating writing.

On the whole, however, the Annual leaves one with the feeling that the Association has not yet come to grips with the most pressing modern issues. There is too much "threshing of old straw," and not enough kneading of the dough of modern bread.

◈ ◈ ◈

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE VILLAGE MOVEMENT. *By Sjt. J. C. Kumarappa. 83 pp. Kovvur, S. India: Sanivarapu Subba Rao.*

This compilation of speeches and articles contains a brief statement of the ideology of the Village Movement, together with a strong plea for community sanitation.

◈ ◈ ◈

MAHARSHI-DEVENDRANATH TAGORE. *By K. Kaliana Swami. 61 pp. Cocanada, S. India: Cocanada Printing Works.*

A brief but effective story of Devendranath Tagore, the successor of Raja Ram Mohun Roy as the leader of the Brahma Samaj, which gives the reader added insight into the life and ideals of his famous son, Rabindranath Tagore.

CURTIS W. REESE.

# Correspondence

### An Unanswerable Answer

Editor of UNITY:

It is amazing to have you ask, "What, after all, have women ever done in the past except as wives, or mistresses, or servants, or slaves of men?" Think of the large part women took in the anti-slavery movement, and their leading part in the woman's rights and the temperance movements. Frances E. Willard, as president of the National W. C. T. U., with its manifold departments, was an immense power for good. Women are active now in almost all movements, wise or unwise, that aim at human betterment, from the peace societies down, and up. In religion, we have the Salvation Army, the American Volunteers and the Christian Scientists. Mrs. Eddy certainly started something big. The notorious Mrs. Dilling, author of *The Red Network,* is quite a power for evil. Women are not doing nearly all they should, any more than men are. But, all through the country, there are women doing fine and remarkable work, in various fields. I have just learned of a woman doctor, only locally known, who, among other good deeds, has assisted more than 1,000 babies into the world, and has never lost the life of a mother. Because politicians have been unwise enough to send a few women to Congress simply as the widows of their husbands, is it reasonable to intimate that women have done little in the past except as wives, mistresses, etc.? That is "a non-sequitur by a hundred miles." And do not forget Jane Addams.

*Boston, Mass.*

ALICE STONE BLACKWELL.

[Note: We knew this would come, and are glad of it. The deliberate and perhaps rather wicked purpose of the editorial was to make true women mad, and thus stir them to stop this silly business of sending to Congress the widows of former Congressmen. Editor.]

### The Case of Dame Pankhurst

Editor of UNITY:

Regarding Dame Christabel Pankhurst (see UNITY, January 20, Page 185), I wish I could accept the view that "her honor" was really "a good deed in a naughty world." The unfortunate truth is that Christabel has been in good repute over here ever since the War, when she swung the suffrage movement into the ranks of reaction. Since then she has been consistently a force in that same direction. I enclose an extract from Winston Churchill's book, *The World Crisis,* which will illustrate my point, and show wherein lies Christabel's "honor" in governmental eyes. Her sister, Sylvia, who has kept to progressive causes, was not among the New Year honors.

REGINALD REYNOLDS.

*London, England.*

[ENCLOSURES]

Page 479

"In July a whole series of strikes broke out in the munition industries at centres as widely separated as Sheffield, Avonmouth, Oldham, Coventry, Gateshead, Farnham, Birmingham, Manchester, Hendon, Gainsborough and Newport. Most of these disputes were composed, and many others prevented, by the ceaseless and skilful activities of the Munitions Labor Department under Sir Stephenson Kent. But Coventry proved intractable. We were confronted with a widespread cessation of work by the highly paid men engaged in the production of aeroplane engines, thus seriously endangering our programs. After consulting the Prime Minister I decided to take the step from which we had hitherto always abstained of withdrawing from men who would not work, their munitions protection against being taken for the Army. In order that the case might be fully explained to the public and to the workers throughout the country, I assembled, as was the custom on critical occasions in the war, the representatives of the Newspaper Proprietors' Association. Fifty or sixty gentlemen attended, covering virtually the entire Press. I could see from their faces as I proceeded that they viewed the decision with concern, deepening in some quarters into consternation. Despite their misgivings all undertook to sustain the national policy, and the Prime Minister continued resolute. On July 16 I therefore issued the following notice which was displayed everywhere in Conventry":

(*Here follows the notice, which is rather long*).

Page 481

"An anxious week-end intervened. On the Monday considerable numbers of men from the Seamen and Fireman's Union, many of whom had been submarined more than once, entered Coventry headed by Mr. Havelock Wilson and preceded by bands; and at the same time the organization of the former Women's Suffrage Societies, under the fiery guidance of Miss Christabel Pankhurst, descended in a cloud of speakers, propagandists and canvassers. Patriotic meetings were held in all parts of the town. Under these varied pressures the strike collapsed, and by Tuesday night all Coventry was at work again."

---

### Reply to Edith Wynner

Editor of UNITY:

It is interesting to me as a member of the Socialist Labor Party to read the remarks of your correspondent, Edith Wynner, in UNITY for April 6, regarding the organization known as the Veterans of Future Wars. I trust you will allow me the use of some of your space to present the case of "the opposition."

I can appreciate the spirit which has prompted the organization of the Veterans of Future Wars; yet spirit is not sufficient in the face of economic facts. Joining peace societies, or leagues against war and fascism, is not going to prevent another world holocaust. Neither is participation in an anti-war strike, such as that staged by collegians on April 22. There were thousands of young men and women previous to the World War who were firmly "opposed" to war, yet their impotence to prevent it needs no elaboration here.

What I wish particularly to point out is the basic fallacy of the V. F. W. Its manifesto states: "Whereas it is inevitable that this country will be engaged in war within the next thirty years . . ." I believe you will agree with me that the statement that war is inevitable needs modification. War, I say, is inevitable ONLY so long as capitalism, the present system of society, is allowed to remain. War, like poverty, unemployment, fascism, crime, being one of the effects of our disintegrating social order, the logical procedure to my mind is not to battle these effects, but to organize to remove the cause—capitalism. Most people today look upon capitalism as inevitable, whereas it is actually no more everlasting than were the systems of chattel slavery and feudalism which preceded it.

If the students of today would organize to some purpose, let them learn how capitalism can be destroyed and, thus, by eliminating the class struggle from the social stage, help to do their share in making impossible all war.

Yours for the Socialist Industrial Republic of Emancipated Labor.

JOSEPH C. BORDEN.

*Darien, Conn.*

---

### A Scientist in Russia

[The following excerpts are taken from a letter received from an American visitor in Russia, a distinguished physiologist who went to the Soviet Republic to attend a scientific congress last June, and has remained there throughout the winter. His comment on Russia is of enormous interest, and is herewith shared with our readers.—Editor.]

". . . I expect to land (in America) with very mixed feelings. If I were younger I would not return at all. As it is, I shall return home because it is home but a home from which I can't expect much. The America of my youth is no longer there. It is a cramped and uncertain country which is going into decline. I feel inspired by my visit here to do a fine piece of work but I do *not* see, at least not at present, where such work, partly literary, partly scientific, can be carried out—for want of funds. *This* is the place for part of the work I envisage, but *I* as indicated above, am not the person to do it *here,* at least I think not.

"The amount of research work done here is really very great, but it is still being done under difficulties. Not enough of these people have been abroad and they just don't know, can't conceive how awfully inconvenient are many of their methods. Take libraries, for instance—fierce. As bad as their methods of checking baggage, etc. But little by little these matters are improving.

"The most hopeful note was sounded by a Dutchman in Tiflis who came here four years ago. He was a friend of the Union and when he saw the inefficiency of this country, he was in despair. He thought that Russia was doomed. In four years he saw an incredible change. He now has no doubt as to the future. But although the future is bright, the present is dreadfully inconvenient and dreadfully time-consuming."

## The Field

(*Continued from Page* 102)

a factory worker, a railroader, a policeman and a fireman who lost their lives in the discharge of their duties, and of a woman who died in childbirth.

Information and suggestions will be furnished free of charge to anyone addressing a request to the Peace Heroes Memorial Society, 842 Lexington Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio.

The Thirteenth Annual Service of Remembrance for Heroes of Social Construction in Cincinnati will be held under the auspices of The Peace Heroes Memorial Society near the North Gate on Gray Road, Thursday morning, May 30, 1936, at 9:00 A. M. The graves to be decorated will be those of a policeman, a fireman, a railroader and a factory worker who lost their lives in the performance of their duties and of a woman who died in childbirth. Bishop Paul Jones, President of The Peace Heroes Memorial Society, will preside. The following program has been arranged:

Hymn—"Say Not They Die."
Invocation—Rabbi Alan S. Green, Holder of the Leo W. Simon Memorial Fellowship, Hebrew Union College.
Reading from the *Chants Communals* of Horace Traubel.
Address—Bishop Reverdy C. Ransom, Presiding Bishop of the Third Episcopal District of the A. M. E. Church.
Strewing of Flowers.
Poem specially written for the occasion; read by the author, Mr. William S. Wabnitz.
Hymn—"Eternal God—Almighty Cause."
Benediction—Father Martin J. Phee, S. J., of Xavier University.
Assistance will be rendered by Boy Scouts.

---

### Proposal for Permanent Peace

The world wants peace; the world prepares for war.

War continues because it remains the legally accepted method of settling international disputes or acquiring new territory. The renunciation of war through the Kellogg-Briand Pact was nullified by the reservations of special spheres of influence, imperialism and extra-territoriality. Each country is permitted to determine for itself which wars are defensive.

The essential step towards peace is the establishment of a universal law among nations, binding upon all countries alike, similar to the law within each country to which all citizens are compelled to submit. There must be agreement between the great powers as to what acts constitute a crime.

Assuming the reasonableness of the idea of a universal law among nations, the following tentative proposals are suggested as natural concomitants:

1. A written code of international law.
2. A court of compulsory jurisdiction as final interpreter of the law.
3. Immediate boycott against an offender.
4. Universal total disarmament.

Objection to these proposals may be made on the ground that, if adopted, enforcement would be impossible. This is an insufficient reason for refusing to inaugurate an important principle, for there are many infringements of the peace under the present system. Enforcement, however, will be simplified when all nations have consented to be bound by a law which definitely stipulates what acts are criminal. When the nations agree, for the first time, that there shall be one law for all, the consensus of opinion will be a strong deterrent against aggression and can be supplemented by definite measures. The law will be observed if it is to the advantage of every nation that all conform. The League of Nations could not consistently discipline Japan and Italy for their aggression when its influential members reserved for themselves the right to act similarly.

An international police force has been suggested to enforce international law but would probably be unnecessary; for if the great powers sincerely desired to substitute law for war, an agreement for diplomatic and economic boycott would be effective. The certainty that ostracism would follow criminal acts would provide so potent a threat that actual use of the boycott would be rare. If in its operation any peoples would be starved, food could be exempted without seriously impairing the effectiveness of the disciplinary measures. Boycott would be applied only to a nation that transgressed the law to which it had agreed to conform. The present offenders against world peace would have refrained from their aggression had they known that their trade would immediately be ended. It is not to a nation's advantage to stand alone in this interdependent world.

Many people argue that while we Americans are peace-loving and law-abiding, foreigners are belligerent and lawless; but our own country is one of the seven dangers of the world. The United States has made protestations of peace but is as much to blame for the continuance of the war system as the other powers. There cannot be world peace until the United States abandons its policy of isolation in favor of international cooperation. When our government recognizes the binding character of a universal law, which it has refused to do, then it can claim to stand for peace.

When the nations have accepted a universal code, they must then agree to submit to the jurisdiction of a court to interpret that law. The two existing world courts now have no power to summon and discipline an offender. The decisions of a court which all governments have agreed to recognize would be accepted without recourse to force, as the decisions of the United States Supreme Court have been, no matter how unpopular among certain factions.

With law and a court accepted by the civilized world, armies and navies would no longer be necessary. Whether large or small they are always a menace. Military and naval preparedness is costly and, instead of providing the expected security, often provokes war. There would be no loss of comparative security if there were universal total disarmament. Actual security would increase after competitive armaments had been abolished. Complete disarmament would be a guaranty of the will to peace. Total disarmament would be easier to enforce than the Washington treaty of 1922, the provisions of which have been observed. An international committee could constantly inspect all countries to report any indications of re-arming.

The difficulty in enforcement fades into insignificance compared with the importance of adopting a law by which all will agree to abide. The proposal for such a law does not represent sentimental pacifism but practical internationalism. The substitution of law for war would be effective because it would be of mutual advantage to all peoples. Every nation would have greater security and prosperity than under existing conditions. All would gain more from balanced budgets than they would lose by the abandoment of imperialism. All nations would observe international law because it would be to their advantage to be rid of war.

War is not inevitable. Peace is inevitable; for human nature is selfish and will ultimately discard war, that is disastrous and futile, in favor of the greater security and prosperity to be obtained through permanent peace.

Peace societies would do well to combine with their efforts to reduce the cost and horror of war a demand that our government acknowledge the authority of international law.

Congressmen should introduce bills requiring our Department of State to draft, for submission to other governments, a code of international law of universal application to which the United States would agree to submit.—*The Arbitrator.*

### Churches in the United States

The Emergency Peace Campaign, of which the Peace Section of the American Friends Service Committee has been the spearhead, has begun. Ray Newton of the Friends, and Kirby Page, the free lance who has made a great dent on church opinion, are the executives of the campaign. It is to continue from April, 1936, to April, 1938. In addition to many religious organizations, the Campaign has the cooperation of many trade unions, youth, Negro, peace and youth organizations. Caravans of young men and women are going into town and rural areas.

The National Preaching Mission plans are also practically completed. For three months, from September 13 to December 9, twenty-five cities will be visited by prominent speakers. Four days will be spent in each city. The Preaching Mission is regarded by many as "the greatest united Protestant undertaking since the days of the Men and Religion Forward Movement, twenty-five years ago." Dr. S. M. Cavert, general secretary of the Federal Council, acclaims the new Mission as one that will be primarily concerned with the "roots" of Christianity rather than the "fruits." In addition to mass meetings, there will be small intensive seminars.

The Reverend John La Farge, S. J., the prominent Catholic educator and associate editor of *America,* called upon Catholics to pursue with renewed vigor a Christian program of race relations. Social justice for the Negro is the only real solution of the inter-racial problem in the United States, he said before the National Catholic Alumni Federation. At the session it was pointed out that about 250,000 out of the 13,000,000 Negroes in the United States are affiliated with Catholic churches. George K. Hunton, editor of the *Interracial Review,* a Catholic journal, points out that "there are no gradations or degrees among the Catholic laity. All Catholics have the same obligations and privileges and there is no doctrine that does not apply equally to all."—*N. C. J. C. News Service.*

### War Resistance

In these days of armed crisis when the deadly military time tables are again being prepared, may we bring to the attention of your readers the fate of some hundred or more young men who are resisting the encroachment of militarism on civilian life? We refer to the war resisters imprisoned in over a dozen countries of Europe for refusal to do their military service. They are giving their lives for this cause of peace, often with no hope of ever regaining their liberty. There is very much which can be done to strengthen and support them. For instance, after seven years' effort, the War Resisters' International has been successful in obtaining the release of a Frenchman who had been exiled for this reason for 19 years in French Guiana. A quotation from a letter written just after his release will perhaps indicate better than anything, the spirit in which these men are serving the world:—

> "After having been cut off from the world of living men during 19 years of exile for having resisted war; after having suffered numberless tortures more frightful than death; I have refused to allow hate to enter my heart, having retained in the midst of all these perils, the Ideal of Peace and love of one's fellow-men."

Further information will gladly be given, and financial help from your readers will be very gratefully welcomed and should be sent either to The War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex, England, or to The Fellowship of Reconciliation, 2929 Broadway, New York City, which will forward gifts. They should be designated, War Resisters Fund.

(Signed) Devere Allen
Bishop James C. Baker
President Henry S. Coffin
Bishop Frederick B. Fisher
Harry Emerson Fosdick
John Haynes Holmes
Jessie W. Hughan
Tracy Mygatt
John Nevin Sayre
Ernest Freemont Tittle
Margaret Woodrow Wilson

### Why Congress Should Pass the Nye-Kvale Amendment

ROGER E. CHASE, NEW YORK CITY*

"We won some things from the war that were not on the program. For example, we had a complete demonstration of the fallacy of the old tradition that preparedness prevents war."—George H. Dern in an address at Riverside, California, December, 1931.

In December, 1935, Mr. Dern, as Secretary of War, is busy spending the largest peacetime military appropriation in the history of the United States, making capital of "the old tradition that preparedness prevents war" to hasten the drive toward a bigger and better war.

The patrioteers — including, we trust, Mr. Dern—have not forgotten the institutions of higher learning. To date more than two hundred campuses have found a place for the Reserve Officers' Training Corps. Another hundred are expected to add military training to their curricula in the near future. In 118 institutions of learning, drill is not only offered but required.

Senator Nye of North Dakota and Representative Kvale of Minnesota have introduced a bill intended to eliminate conscription from American education. The bill would amend the National Defense Act of 1916 with the stipulation that no R. O. T. C. unit be approved at any school or college "until such institution shall have satisfied the Secretary of War that enrollment in such unit (except in the case of essentially military schools) is elective and not compulsory." Mild as it may appear, consonant with the democratic idea as it is, the Nye-Kvale Bill is by no means assured of passage.

No sooner did the campaign against militarism in education begin to assume formidable proportions than spokesmen for "national defense" rushed forward with euphemisms and counter-charges. The R. O. T. C. was a higher form of "physical education"; the goose-step was "character education"; compulsory drill was "citizenship training," an antidote for the subversive agitation of students who felt, and said, that war was unnecessary and futile and they would have nothing to do with it.

It means little to the defenders of the R. O. T. C. that the best minds in the field of physical educa-

[*Awarded first prize in the editorial contest conducted by the Committee on Militarism in Education.]

tion have characterized as a hollow falsehood the claim that drill "builds men."

It is irrelevant to the apostles of chauvinism that the kind of "character" developed by the corps is otherwise known as the "military mind" which—Professor Reinhold Niebuhr once stated—"makes unthinking obedience the summum bonum in the hierarchy of virtues."

It is not at all alarming to the super-patriots that "citizenship" as promoted in the R. O. T. C. has meant the negation of science and democracy, that the training corps have been as culpable as any other group in the revival of American college vigilantism.

What that "citizenship" implies was once illustrated in an official R. O. T. C. manual (withdrawn from circulation, thanks to student protests, ten years ago). One passage read: "This inherent desire to fight and kill must be carefully watched for and encouraged by the student. . . ." And further: "To finish an opponent who hangs on or attempts to pull you to the ground, always try to break his hold by driving the knee or foot to his crotch and gouging his eyes with your thumbs."

"Citizenship," indeed!

As it becomes increasingly apparent that the nation's military machine is being geared to the inevitability if not the early desirability of another war, student protests against militarism and the society which breeds it will be increasingly vocal. At the same time, R. O. T. C. units will crop up on campuses which never had military training before. The corps already established will emerge more clearly as storm-troops of bogus "Americanism," intolerance, anti-intellectualism. They are strongholds of reaction today; they may be the vanguards of fascism tomorrow.

Wide public support for the Nye-Kvale Bill may not signify the beginning of the end for the R. O. T. C. But it will prevent further expulsions of students who, on religious or political grounds, refuse to submit to compulsory drill. More important, it will attract public attention to what has long been an anti-social feature of our educational system and today is an incubator of forces which may some day destroy our civilization.

The campaign should not be confined to those schools where compulsory R. O. T. C. exists. The menace of jingoism cannot be isolated. Every senator, every representative in Congress should be notified, deluged with petitions, hounded until such time as he places his influence behind the bill.

It is encouraging that the tremendous growth of the R. O. T. C. since the war has not occurred without artificial stimulation. Although the cavalry went out of style and utility after Appomatox, thousands of horses have been provided as sugar-coating for the pill of compulsory training. Fortunes have been spent on flashy uniforms. Pretty girls have been recruited as "sponsors." The enemy has been resourceful.

There is going to be a fight to the finish between a strong student peace movement and a highly-subsidized regimen of training for slaughter. The outlook will be more reassuring once the Nye-Kvale Bill is law.

---

### Educating the Educators

Nine Institutes of International Relations, and possibly ten, will be held this summer in various parts of the country by the American Friends' Service Committee in cooperation with various colleges and universities. Courses will deal with facts about the present international situation, methods of peace education and the resources of the peace movement, and the "spiritual dynamic" behind work for the elimination of war. It is the second and third categories which make the Institutes unique and win for them enthusiastic support from a growing number of people, both former or prospective students, and a wider public which has been affected by those who have attended in one section or another.

No over-formal or cut-and-dried type of educational leadership will be found in these Institutes. On the contrary, they have achieved a wide reputation for pleasurable and stimulating educational technique, focused on intensely practical objectives. As in previous years, the faculty members and evening lecturers in 1936 will be outstanding leaders in the fields of education, religion, and public affairs. Questions dealing with all basic phases of international relations, with a generous political and economic emphasis, will be discussed by experts from the United States, Europe and Asia.

Some of those who will lecture for varying intervals at one or more of the Institutes are Toyohiko Kagawa, T. Z. Koo, George H. Blakeslee, Grover Clark, Julien Bryan, Herbert Fraser, Mary Goodhue Cary, J. Emlyn Williams, Walter W. Van Kirk, Dorothy Detzer, Mildred Scott Olmsted, Harry Terrell, Roswell P. Barnes, Clark Eichelberger, Frederick W. Norwood, Elbert Russell, and Hornell Hart.

"Educating the Educators" has become a slogan of the Institutes of International Relations. Through this process the masses are reached to a considerable degree and in many cases are quickened and made articulate on issues of vital concern to everyone.

The places where Institutes will be held are:

Duke University, Durham, N. C., June 8-19.
Bethel College, Newton, Kans., June 9-19.
Grinnell College, Grinnell, Iowa, June 17-26.
Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill., June 22-July 3.
Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa., June 22-July 3.
Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass., June 23-July 3.
Mills College, Oakland, Calif., June 23-July 3.
Whittier College, Whittier, Calif., June 30-July 10.
Reed College, Portland, Ore., July 6-16.

All persons interested in these Institutes may obtain complete information by writing to the American Friends' Service Committee, 20 South 12th St., Philadelphia, Pa.

**Help Our Drive for More Readers of UNITY**

● By securing at least one new subscriber within the next 30 days!